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Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 177520 TOSEC 080057

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, YU

SUBJECT: YUGOSLAV FOREIGN SECRETARY'S ADDRESS OF JULY 18

FOR COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT

FOLLOWING IS INR ANALYSIS OF MINIC SPEECH AS YOU REQUESTED.

1. SUMMARY: MINIC'S ADDRESS TO PARLIAMENT ON CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY FOCUSES ON MULTILATERAL ACTIVITIES, PRIMARILY ON CSCE, NONALIGNED FORNMINS CONFERENCE IN LIMA, AND UNGA. WHILE ADDRESS CONTAINS LITTLE ESSENTIALLY THAT IS NEW, IT REFLECTS YUGOSLAV CONTINUING EFFORTS TO RALLY NONALIGNED COUNTRIES IN PRESSING DEVELOPING VERSUS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES' CAUSE AND TO ASSURE YUGOSLAVS A LEADING ROLE IN NONALIGNED MOVEMENT. WHILE THERE IS NO DIRECT CRITICISM OF US, SEVERAL VEILED BARBS AT US POLICIES EVIDENT. LITTLE DOUBT THAT WHILE YUGOSLAV POLICIES MORE MODERATE THAN MOST OTHER NON-ALIGNED, THEY NEVERTHELESS COULD CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR US AT UNGA AND ELSEWHERE. END SUMMARY.

2. MINIC DESCRIBES "TWO SIGNIFICANT TRENDS" IN INTER-
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NATIONAL AFFAIRS AS (A) STRUGGLE FOR MORE EQUITABLE INTER-NATIONAL RELATIONS BASED ON INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND NONINTERFERENCE AND (B) STRUGGLE FOR NEW SYSTEM OF INTER-NATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS FREE FROM DOMINATION AND

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EXPLOITATION. IMMINENT CSCE, LIMA, AND UN MEETINGS
"EXPRESS" THESE VERY IMPORTANT BASIC TRENDS.

3. MINIC EXPRESSES SATISFACTION WITH CSCE AS BUILDING
TOWARD EUROPEAN SECURITY, BUT EXPRESSES DISAPPOINTMENT
WITH ITS FAILURE TO RESOLVE BLOC DIVISIONS AND REDUCE
ARMAMENTS PARTICULARLY NUCLEAR AND TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS.
MOREOVER, HE CHARGES NPT NOT ONLY FAILED TO JUSTIFY EXPEC-
TATIONS OF NON-NUCLEAR COUNTRIES BUT ALSO STRENGTHENED
MONOPOLISTIC POSITION OF LARGEST NUCLEAR POWERS IN NUCLEAR
ARMAMENT AND NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FOR PEACEFUL USES. GENEVA
NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE TERMED A FAILURE BECAUSE IT ONLY
"LEGALIZED PRESENT SITUATION." BIG POWERS FAULTED FOR
UNREADINESS IN CARRYING OUT OBLIGATIONS UNDER NPT AND FOR
PLAYING LEADING ROLE IN ARMS RACE, WHICH IS SAID TO BE
"GREATEST THREAT TO NONALIGNED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES."

4. MINIC HOPES LIMA CONFERENCE WILL FORMULATE POLICIES TO
COPE WITH PROBLEMS RELATING TO ARMS RACE AND CREATE MORE
FAVORABLE CONDITIONS FOR DISARMAMENT, INCLUDING POSSIBILITY
OF CONVENING SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA ON THIS QUESTION.
LIMA MEETING ALSO SHOULD ASSESS PRESENT STATE OF WORLD
AFFAIRS AND EXPLORE ALL POSSIBILITIES FOR MORE DIRECT
PARTICIPATION OF NONALIGNED COUNTRIES IN SOLVING INTER-
NATIONAL PROBLEMS, INCLUDING THE MIDDLE EAST, THE "MOST
DANGEROUS SOURCE OF TENSION."

5. MINIC CALLS FOR INCREASED VIGILANCE, SOLIDARITY AND
MUTUAL SUPPORT AMONG NONALIGNED TO COUNTER THOSE WHO
INTERVENE AGAINST AND PRESSURE NONALIGNED AND OTHERS, AND
WHO OPPOSED THEIR ACTIVITIES, ACCUSING THEM OF "CREATING
OBSTACLES TO SETTLING OF ACUTE INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS."

6. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE CHARGED WITH SHOWING "LACK OF
READINESS" TO COOPERATE IN CARRYING OUT DECISIONS OF SIXTH
SPECIAL SESSION OF UNGA ON "ESTABLISHING NEW INTERNATIONAL
ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND PROGRAM OF ACTION." SOLUTIONS OF
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THESE ISSUES IS SAID TO BE IN INTEREST OF ALL COUNTRIES,
SINCE THEY ARE LINKED CLOSELY WITH PRESENT WORLD ECONOMIC
DIFFICULTIES AND WITH "CRISIS SITUATION" IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS. DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE ALSO CHARGED WITH
HAVING WEATHERED INFLATION, RECESSION, ENERGY CRISIS,
FLUCTUATION IN RAW MATERIAL PRICES AND GENERAL INSTABILITY
MORE EASILY BECAUSE OF THEIR ABILITY TO SHIFT THESE BUR-
DENS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

7. YUGOSLAVS ADVOCATE INTEGRAL, COORDINATED SOLUTION TO
RAW MATERIALS, NOT SINGLING OUT "ISOLATED SOLUTIONS BY A
SMALL CIRCLE OF PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS." RECENT PARIS
CONFERENCE ON OIL AND RAW MATERIALS IS SAID TO HAVE FAILED

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BECAUSE OF "ATTEMPTS BY SOME DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO IMPOSE ON ALL OTHERS THEIR OWN ONE-SIDED INTERESTS"; REVIVAL OF CONFERENCE COULD CONTRIBUTE TO SOLVING ENERGY, RAW MATERIAL, AND DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS.

8. YUGOSLAVS ALSO CALL FOR GREATER PARTICIPATION OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN ADOPTING DECISIONS REGARDING FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND FOR ENDING DECISION-MAKING BY NARROW CIRCLE OF MOST DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

9. ON UN ACTIVITIES, YUGOSLAVS PLACE PARTICULAR STRESS ON PROBLEMS OF DISARMAMENT AND STRENGTHENING ROLE OF UN. MINIC SUGGESTS THAT NONALIGNED -- WITH ABOUT 2/3 OF TOTAL UN MEMBERSHIP AND THEREFORE BEARING INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY -- ADVANCE PROPOSALS FOR ADAPTING UN SYSTEM TO NEW REALITIES AND NEEDS, TO MAKE IT GENUINE INSTRUMENT OF COOPERATION ON BASIS OF EQUALITY.

10. MINIC ADDRESS DEALT ONLY WITH MULTILATERAL ACTIVITIES OF YUGOSLAV FOREIGN POLICY. AS RESULT, THERE IS NO MENTION OF BELGRADE'S BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH US, USSR, CHINA, ETC. HOWEVER, THERE WERE SEVERAL THINLY-VEILED CRITICISMS OF US POLICIES RELATING TO INDOCHINA, ATTITUDES TOWARD NONALIGNED MOVEMENT AND OIL/RAW MATERIAL PRICES.

11. COMMENTS: MINIC'S ADDRESS CRITICIZING FOREIGN ATTACKS ON NONALIGNED, LACK OF COOPERATION FROM DEVELOPED
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COUNTRIES ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, AND FAILURE OF LARGE POWERS TO RESOLVE PRESSING PROBLEMS ON DISARMAMENT CONTAINS LITTLE THAT IS NEW. ADDRESS ITSELF REFLECTS YUGOSLAV DISTRUST OF BIG POWER MOTIVES VIA-A-VIS THE NONALIGNED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND YUGOSLAV EFFORTS TO FURTHER NONALIGNED UNITY. WHILE THE ADDRESS IS QUITE ASSERTIVE IN CALLING FOR VARIOUS NONALIGNED INITIATIVES IN OPPOSITION TO DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE GENERALLY COUNSELED MODERATION IN NONALIGNED MEETINGS AND AVOIDED POLICIES OF CONFRONTATION. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO PRESERVE ITS LEADING POSITION IN THE NONALIGNED MOVEMENT, THE YUGOSLAVS HAVE VOTED WITH OTHER MORE RADICAL NONALIGNED MEMBERS ONCE A DECISION HAS BEEN REACHED IN PRIVATE COUNCILS. YUGOSLAVS PRESENTLY TELLING US AND OTHERS PRIVATELY THAT THEY HOPE THEIR MODERATE VIEWS WILL PREVAIL AT LIMA AND THAT THEY WILL VOTE AGAINST ANY PROPOSAL TO HAVE ISRAEL EXPELLED FROM UN. INGERSOLL

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